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**Every picture speaks a thousand words: visualising judicial authority in
the press**

**Leslie Moran, Professor of Law,
School of Law, Birkbeck College,
University of London, London WC1E 7HX
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7631 6502**

Email: l.moran@bbk.ac.uk

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It is a trite point that few members of the public experience or learn about the judiciary from direct observation. Domestic policy debates in the UK have noted that mass media, and visual media in particular, play an important role in generating experiences and understandings about the courts and the justice system more generally (Hough and Roberts, 2004; Falconer, 2005; Moorhead, Sefton and Scanlan, 2008). News and more factual reports¹ delivered by way of print and screen technologies are a particularly important source of popular information (Page, Wake and Ames, 2004, p.7).² My particular interest is mass media representations of the judiciary. As Papke notes (2007) the judge is a key figure in the justice system symbolizing its key values and virtues and worthy of particular study. Portraiture scholars have argued that visual images of professionals and state officials, categories that potentially embrace the judiciary, play an important role in fashioning the identity not only of the individual depicted but also in forming and representing the institution to itself and the outside world (Moran 2009). But the study of the nature and role of visual images in the formation and communication of ideas about the judiciary is underdeveloped (Moran, 2009).

Several factors contribute to this state of affairs. Some are concerned with the images themselves. The judiciary has been described as a difficult subject to depict visually (Gregory 2005, p.102). A general constraint is said to be the subject itself. Judicial work is static, cerebral and thereby has little visual appeal. Another more parochial factor is an ongoing domestic legal ban on

¹ Fictions and dramas also play an important role (Falconer, 2005).

² For a useful introduction to the policy debates in England and Wales see Stepniak, 2008.

cameras in courts.³ This limits the opportunity, capacity and form of visual images of the judiciary being made and used in news stories (Nead, 2002). But these factors do not result in either the total absence of visual images of judges or their absence in the press.

Other factors affect the study of these images. In any area of scholarship, to paraphrase sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1965/1990, p.1), there exists a hierarchy of legitimate objects of study. In the context of research on the judiciary there is little evidence of research on visual images of the judiciary (Moran 2011). This is surprising. Judicial scholars have identified judicial image making and image management as a fundamental aspect of judicial practice (Baum, 2006). Research on the interface between the judiciary and mass media has noted that 'image politics' is the essence of this interface (Haltom 1998, p.69). But neither insights appear to have generated work on the visual aspects of the judicial image. The neglect of the visual aspects of the judicial image in news and factual reporting (Davis, 1994; Slotnick and Segal, 1998) echoes their neglect in research on news and factual reporting more generally (Domke, Perlmutter and Spratt, 2002; Huxford 2001; Newton, 2008; Zeiler, 2005).

Research on the judiciary mass media interface is overwhelmingly US in origin and focus (Bybee, 2007; Dreschel 1987; Haltom 1998). A particular preoccupation is the US Supreme Court (Davis, 1994; Gray 1968; Jamieson

³ See s. 41 Criminal Justice Act 1925 (Rubin, 2008). The Constitutional Reform Act 2005 provides an exception to this rule in relation to the UK Supreme Court.

1998; Slotnik and Segal 1998).⁴ Work on the judiciary in the UK is underdeveloped.⁵ UK research on the interface between the news media and the justice system has been preoccupied with representations of crime, the depiction of perpetrators of crime and police image making and image management activities (Chibnall, 1977; Cohen and Young, 1973; Schlesinger and Tumber, 1994; Leishman and Mason, 2003; Mawby, 2002). Studies of the depiction of the judiciary are most notable by their absence. One exception is work examining news reports of judicial sentencing decisions (Soothill, Walby and Bagguley, 1990). Sentencing decisions have been identified as a key moment when the judicial image is made and shaped in the mass media (Hough and Roberts 2004, p.50-52). Dissatisfaction with these representations has been a driver generating new judicial image management initiatives in the UK (Cutter, 2008). But judicial image making in this context remains understudied in its own right and I have found no work that sets an analysis of judicial sentencing activity within an analysis of news reports of the longer performance of judicial authority that takes place in the criminal trial more generally. The visual aspects of sentencing stories are routinely ignored.

Visual images and news

But as Barnhurst and Nerone (2001) note, the visual dimension of news is an enduring changing and vital dimension of news production and delivery.

Pictures play a key role in generating the emotional dynamics of news

⁴ On Canada see Sauvageau, Schneiderman and Taras, 2006. On Israel see Bogoch and Holzman-Gazit (2008).

⁵ See Genn 2009. There are a few notable exceptions see Paterson, 1982, Barrett, 2001, Derbyshire, 2006 and 2007 and Blom Cooper, Dickson and Drewrey, 2009. See Epstein and Knight (2004) for a survey of socio-legal research on the judiciary.

(Gregory, 2005, p.103; Newton, 2008). They also represent and communicate the truth claims of news (Barnhurst and Nerone 2001, 113). Tagg's description of the realist assumptions attached to photography is useful here;

...an existential connection between 'the *necessarily* real thing which has been placed before the lens' and the photographic image: 'every photograph is somehow co-natural with its referent'. What the photograph asserts is the overwhelming truth that 'the thing has been there': this is a reality which once existed...' (Tagg, 1998, p.1)

These assumptions are at work in the idea of news photographers as 'eyewitnesses' standing in for an absent public and in the idea that the visual image provides 'evidence' of the event, object or subject in the news (Newton, 2008).⁶ They connect photographs to wider assumptions about the objective nature of news reports.

Despite a long tradition of judicial image making and image management in the common law tradition, beginning in at least the 13th century (Moran 2009), and despite a growing body of scholarship examining the visual representation of law and legal personnel in film and television there is little scholarship that examines the visual image of the judiciary.⁷ Ross Levi's *Celluloid Courtroom* (2005), a thematic analysis of American English language 'legal cinema', (predominantly courtroom drama) identified a

⁶ Digitalisation allows for more manipulation of the image. But despite a new scepticism the realist assumptions still operate (Newton, 2008).

⁷ Two exceptions are Papke 2007 and Greenfield, Osborn and Robson 2009.

significant number of films (251 titles) with 'judge' in the plot line descriptions.⁸ But Black (2005) notes that in the final instance in these representations the judge is a marginal figure;⁹ rarely central to the moral dilemmas, narrative or character development. Nor does the expansion of scholarship to television seem to change this state of affairs (Jarvis and Joseph 1998). Reality TV judge shows and related scholarship are the exception (Christie 1999, Lorenzo-Dus 2008; Kleinhans and Morris 2004; Kohm 2006; Moran, Skeggs and Herz 2010; Papke 2009). But beyond that, the study of visual images of the judiciary in popular culture past and present, fact and fiction, remains neglected.

Judicial images in the press

A key objective of this paper is to explore the images of the judiciary that are currently being made and put to use in news and factual reports in the press and to challenge the scholarly neglect of visual images in studies of the judiciary. In order to pursue this objective I want to address a number of questions. What images of judges are used in the news stories? What aesthetic traditions do these images draw on? What role do these judicial images play in telling (and selling) news stories? What do pictures of the judiciary in newspapers tell us about the judiciary and judicial authority? Before turning to these matters a few words about the data set from which the news images/stories that are the subject of my study are drawn. The news images/stories used in this paper are taken from a dataset of news reports that make reference to the judiciary collected from contemporary established

⁸ His sample is the on-line 'International Movie Database'.

⁹ There is an absence of documentaries. See Moran 2008 and 2010.

English newspapers and their related websites. They have been generated on an ad hoc basis. A subset of this archive is news stories that incorporate visual images of the judiciary. This subset was further expanded using the internet search engine *Google image*. All three of the news reports studied below relate to criminal proceedings. Two focus on different episodes in a criminal trial. The third is pre trial. One depicts a judge in court. Two take the form of portraits of particular members of the judiciary. The three images offer two examples of techniques of production: photography and drawing.

The judge and the courtroom sketch

The first image is a sketch, made by an unnamed artist. It shows a judge in court. He wears judicial robes but without a wig. Also in the image are five lawyers wearing gowns and winged collars. They are depicted sitting before and below the judge in the well of the court. They are also wigless. All these figures are depicted in profile turned to the right, watching a TV screen. On the screen is a small blurred figure.¹⁰ The artist has foreshortened the perspective bringing the judge closer to the plane of the image. The result is that the size and detail of the judge is similar to that of the lawyers sitting before and below him.

The sketch appears on the second page of a two-page report of 2 May 2009 published by the *Daily Mail*, a centre right daily tabloid newspaper.¹¹ The banner headline spanning the two pages reads, 'Baby P monster raped girl of

¹⁰ Bottom right of the sketch is a 'close up' of the screen, and depicts a young child (with the face obscured) playing with teddy bears on a table.

¹¹ It is the country's most popular right of centre newspaper, attracting successive governments' attention as the voice of 'middle England'.

two' (Allen 2009). Two images are used in the paper version of the news report.¹² The first is a photograph. Taken from above the viewer looks down onto the pale upturned face and blonde hair of a young child with searing blue eyes, the 'Baby P' of the headline. The sketch occupies the top half of the opposite page. As journalism scholars have noted, the interrelationship of pictures and text, and the spatial design of the page are key to understanding the use of visual images and their meaning (Domke, Perlmutter and Spratt, 2002, p.133 and Huxford, 2001). What are the textual and visual devices that help to make the meaning of this courtroom sketch of a judge?

One text is directly incorporated into the sketch, in the upper right hand corner, and within a heavy black line that frames the sketch. It reads, 'An artist's impression of the Old Bailey scene shows the judge and barristers watching the girl give evidence via a video link.' Below the sketch and overlapping it is a second text, this time in a box. It reads, 'Evil room: what four-year-old called the Old Bailey video suite after two tough lawyers grilled her for 45 minutes'. The large font size, the use of white lettering on a black background, and the positioning of this block of text, centre page, overlapping the sketch not only draw attention to the text but literally map it onto the sketch. The thick black line framing the sketch continues to enclose the whole page.

The first text offers the viewer a banal description of the image, naming the court, the subjects depicted, their activity. The second text glosses this,

¹² The digital version of the story contains additional images.

highlighting the moral and emotional themes central to the news story; the horror a child victim faces when giving evidence in a case relating to serious sexual offences and a sense of outrage and injustice associated with it. Last but not least, the black boarder framing the sketch and the main text produces the effect of a seamless border binding the courtroom sketch into the text; one seamless whole.

The judge in the sketch is mentioned in both the accompanying caption and in the body of the news story. He is named but only by his institutional title, 'the judge'. The picture shows the judge participating in the trial proceedings. Neither the image nor the body of the text seems to make reference either directly or indirectly to things the judge said or did in relation to the evidence of the child. Nor does it make any direct criticism of his role.

The main legal characters of this story are the named counsel who undertook the examination in chief and cross examination. The article includes quotations taken from the examination and cross examination. With the aid of comments by 'experts' the damaging and traumatic effects of this process on the victim are highlighted.¹³ At best perhaps the judge is implicated in this process by way of silence.

The courtroom sketch is a form of image making generated by the ongoing statutory prohibition on cameras in courts in England and Wales. It differs

¹³ These comments and concerns about the courtroom process are also interwoven with references to an earlier connected case about child abuse that involved the two defendants involved in the rape trial. This second case concerned the death of a child, 'Baby P'.

from the photographic image used in the same news report in various ways. Marks of the process of making the sketch are visible and are part of the image, emphasising the artifice of the court image, image as representation, the image as 'authored' whether named or not. This is in contrast to the photograph. The photograph offers little obvious evidence of the decisions that led to its composition or its manipulation, such as editing. Its snapshot aesthetic expresses the image's immediacy and thereby its authenticity. If the indexical qualities of a photograph in a news report emphasise the factual and evidential qualities of the image (in this case representing the innocence and vulnerability of not only 'Baby P' but of all children who are victims of violence), in contrast the artist's sketch of the courtroom, being a more obvious fiction, may struggle to produce or sustain similar epistemological effects.

But there is a need for caution here. The signs of the hasty composition of the sketch may well work at a symbolic level to suggest to the reader the truth of what is represented. The sketch records the presence of the artist on our behalf in court working as our 'eye on the proceedings' overcoming the statutory prohibition restricting image making in court. Moreover the techniques of the sketch artist, manipulating the perspective, gives the viewer the experience of being in a privileged viewing position in the court (Clover, 1998). It brings the judge, usually physically remote in the court, closer to the audience, subject to closer scrutiny, visually equal to the lawyers in the well of the court (Barnhurst and Nerone, 2001, p.126). The signs of hurried composition also work symbolically to associate the image and the story with

'breaking news' giving particular emphasis to its 'now' qualities, putting the 'new' into 'news'. Last but not least, the anonymity of the 'sketch artist' plays down the authorship of the image and tends to associate the sketch with key journalistic functions and news values; of objectivity (Barnhurst and Nerone 2001, 115).

The picture utilises a landscape format, where the horizontal axis is longer than the vertical axis, a format associated with pictures that have a strong story-telling function (Moran 2011). What is the narrative being depicted here? What is the place of the judge in that narrative?

It appears to be a narrative that involves the judge. It depicts one moment of judicial activity associated with the criminal trial; the judge hearing, watching, and managing the delivery of evidence. The distorted perspective gives equal emphasis to the judge and counsel in the picture, suggesting all are important players. The composition of the image, placing the judge separate from and above the advocates, puts the judge in a prominent position, recording the elevated position the judge usually occupies in the trial. The judge is an object of scrutiny here.

Research exploring 'news values' and their impact upon the generation of law and order news can assist in understanding the nature and use of this judicial image and the meanings it generates about the judiciary and judicial authority. Chibnall describes 'news values' as 'the criteria of relevance which guide reporters' choice and construction of newsworthy stories...tacitly accepted and

implicitly understood....' (Chibnall 1977, 13). He notes that news stories are event-orientated. The 'event' that animates this particular news story is multiple. The opening line of the reports pinpoints the 'event' that sets the story going; the conviction of the man accused of raping a two-year old girl. But that event quickly disappears and is replaced with another earlier event; the examination and cross examination of the victim, now four. Dramatisation and simplification are other key 'news values' that shape the news story. The former emphasises the importance of attention-grabbing 'action', 'spectacle'. The latter tends to point to the use of stark binary oppositions. In this story the action is lawyer focused. The judge 'merely' looks. The cut and thrust of giving evidence provides the theatrical setting and the spectacle at the heart of the story. That action is a battle of good and evil personified respectively in the figure of the witness and the lawyers, especially the lawyers for the accused. While the judge is clearly depicted in the picture and mentioned in the text these news values, in a manner similar to depictions of the judiciary in Hollywood courtroom drama (Black 2005), tend to push the judge to the margins of the action and leave him as little more than a silent presence in the news story. The image/text when read together depicts the judge more as a bit part in this courtroom drama. But the depiction of the judge as a figure of equal size above and separate from the practices of the advocates (and thereby less implicated in their practices) draws the judge back into the ambit and effects of their problematic practices.

Judicial portraits in the news

The second image is a photograph. It is a very different style of image. It uses a portrait format, where the vertical axis is longer than the horizontal. In this format narrative is replaced with contemplation of the subject of the image. It is a shape associated with the depiction of individual human subjects with a strong focus on the sitter's likeness and the accurate representation of character and personality. The head and face, covered and framed by a full bottom wig and a large white lace-edged scarf,¹⁴ dominate the image's surface. Close to the plane of the image his gaze into the camera's lens invites the viewers' direct engagement. One subject dominates this picture and the subtitle that accompanies it names that subject, 'Judge Goldstone'.

This image was published on the 22 May 2009 in the *Daily Mail* under the headline 'Mother who forced her girls to marry is jailed' (Narain 2009).¹⁵ The column-wide picture appears immediately under the headline at the top of the story's second column and takes up 25% of the textual space. Two texts are intimately connected to this judicial image. The subtitle, 'Judge Goldstone: Landmark case' is one. The other is in a box that wraps around the top half of the picture and extends out to the right of it. Graphic design, the larger font size and white lettering on a black background is used to emphasise the boxed text. The position of the box, the use of quotation marks and the attribution of the quote turn the box into an angular speech bubble. The

¹⁴ The lace-edged scarf, a 'lace stock', is ceremonial dress. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen's_Counsel#Court_dress last accessed 26 January 2011.

¹⁵ The online version has a different headline, 'Muslim mother who forced her school-aged daughters to marry their cousins is jailed for 3 years'. The hard copy photograph is more closely cropped and the on line version has no speech bubble or text.

combination of direct gaze and speech bubble produce an effect of direct communication, of judge to reader. 'Those who choose to live in this country must not abandon our laws in the practice of our beliefs.'

The news report that accompanies this image also names the judge and includes numerous verbatim extracts, some several lines long, from comments made by the judge during the course of sentencing. The 'speech bubble' isolates and reinforces a particular comment and sentiment that is the essence of the 'news' report. What type of image is this?

One clue is the credit that appears at the bottom left-hand corner of the version of the picture used in the online account of the story, '© UPPA Ltd'. Its source is Universal Pictorial Press & Agency Limited (UPPA). UPPA, now owned by Photoshot, is described in that company's promotions literature as 'the photography business of record for royalty, politicians and the judiciary, also photographing the...appointments of judges.' (Photoshot 2010, UPPA) It explains that UPPA is one of a small group of agencies 'chosen' to represent these subjects by those responsible for these institutional figures. This suggests the image has the character of being an authorised or 'official image'. The appearance of the full bottom wig and the lace-trimmed scarf, both items of formal ceremonial dress, offer some evidence in support of the conclusions that this is a formal portrait (Eades and Ravenscroft undated). The narrative accompanying the image on Photoshot's website confirms that

it was a portrait made to record his appointment as Queen's Council in April 1993.¹⁶

The particular composition, the head and shoulders shot, is one now commonly found on court websites on pages dedicated to judicial biographies.¹⁷ If the standard pose and preoccupation with the face suggest an aesthetics associated with identification (Tagg 1998) the presence of the wig and other items of ceremonial legal clothing work against the easy identification of the sitter. The wig, lace stock, dark suit, and lack of anything identifiable in the background obscure the individualising potential of the portrait. Personal characteristics such as head shape and other defining physiognomic features, hair style, fashion items or props have no place in this type of picture. Despite the importance of the face this image gives emphasis to symbols of judicial office. As such, it uses a form of depiction and a long aesthetic tradition associated with judicial portraiture. It is a tradition in which the subject of the image, the named judge, is shaped by the values and virtues associated with the judicial institution and judicial office more generally (Moran 2009). It is a tradition in which the individual is represented as the embodiment of the institution of judicial office. What work does this photograph do in making this 'news'?

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<http://www.photoshot.com/webgate/preview.php?UURL=740a512b3408f5a63cb7befd0b7fea3c&IMGID=06796305> last accessed 26 January 2011.

¹⁷ For example, for the Court of Appeal Civil Division for England and Wales see <http://www.hmcourts-service.gov.uk/cms/1287.htm>. Not all judges have a photograph.

If the photographic portrait represents the values and virtues of judicial authority in a named subject of that image, the speech bubble literally and metaphorically attaches those values and virtues to the sentiments expressed in the quotation extracted from the judge's comments. Thereby it attaches the legitimacy of judicial authority to the sentiments highlighted in the news story. The report deploys symbols of the legitimate authority of the judge to tap their potential to generate popular deference to and compliance with that authority and, thereby, deference to and compliance with the sentiments expressed in the news story so eloquently captured in the quotation selected from the judge's comments (Davis, 1994, p.3).

Subject in/of scarlet

My third judicial image is another column-wide photographic portrait. Like the picture of Judge Goldstone, this image draws upon an aesthetic tradition commonly associated with judicial portraiture. But it differs from that picture. Now the pose places less emphasis on the face and more emphasis on the body. The body now occupies 75% of the surface of the image. The gently crossed hands, holding an unidentifiable black object, cut the body in two. Above, the body is covered by a scarlet robe adorned with white fur cuffs, trim and collar. Below, it is covered by a geometric pattern of black and white horizontal and vertical blocks made up of a black belt and scarf and a continuation of the white fur trim. Background is minimal. Despite close cropping of the image, bringing the subject close to the plane of the image, the face (also partially obscured by the full bottom wig) is relatively insignificant. The subject's gaze is to the right of the viewer, a pose that

enables the viewer to contemplate the subject of the image without the experience of being confronted by the sitter's direct gaze.

This composition emphasises the subject's embodiment of the values and virtues of judicial office. Distinguishing and individualising characteristics of the subject are again obscured by the paraphernalia of office. Individual character and personality are not the top priority in this type of portraiture. It puts those symbols on display for study and reflection by the viewer. Minimal background trains the viewer's eye to focus on these symbols. The first two words of the headline sit over the picture and provide an informal caption; 'Top judge...'. The (sub)title has a more specific job: to identify the individual subject: 'Lord Justice Richards'.

The original of this image can be viewed on the website of Photoshot and is again attributed to UPPA Ltd.¹⁸ Taken in 1998 the photograph shows Mr Justice Richards, then a judge of the High Court Queen's Bench division. It depicts the judge carrying out ceremonial activities; taking part in a religious service¹⁹ and subsequent celebration²⁰ that mark the beginning of the new

¹⁸

<http://www.photoshot.com/webgate/preview.php?UURL=8284da73c00d4d77df5b04d4548c0e14&IMGID=06791153>. Images of Stephen Richard's on his elevation to the Court of Appeal can also be found on the Photoshot website at

<http://www.photoshot.com/webgate/?WGSESSID=&UURL=&TABLIGHTBOX=RESULT&SEARCHMODE=NEW&SEARCHSHOWTAB=1&TABNAV=SEARCH>

¹⁹The service is described as a 'private event' only open to members of the judiciary, other senior figures of the legal establishment, such as the Lord Chancellor and Queen's Counsel, and their staff and invited guests. (See <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/worship/special-services>).

legal year. Gregory calls occasions such as these opportunities to take some 'easy pictures' (2005, p.102) of an otherwise challenging and difficult subject. The original image shows the judge surrounded by fellow judges and other participants in the event. The description that accompanies the image on the Photoshot website emphasises the specific temporal and social context in which the image was made and which it represents. The process of picture editing that generates the image in the news report cuts out the entire context, refashioning the picture as a more formal portrait of a judicial subject.

The resulting portrait occupies the whole of the first column and 25% of the total news report in *The Times* of 22 January 2007.²¹ The full headline, 'Top judge arrested over "flashing on train"' (O'Neill 2007), puts the judge at the centre of the story. This is a rather different type of news report about a judge. It is not ostensibly a story about a judge carrying out judicial activities in court or otherwise. It is a story about a man who has been arrested during a police investigation into allegations of indecent exposure and subsequently released on bail. That man happens to work as a judge.

²⁰For more information see,
<http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/occasions/lcbreakfast.cfm>

²¹ *The Times* is a right of centre quality daily newspaper closely associated with law reporting and the legal professions. It is the only daily newspaper that from time to time includes brief law reports summarising court decisions and judgments.

Two short paragraphs in the first column of the story detail the arrest and release. A similar amount of space is devoted to a statement confirming the arrest and release.²²

The majority of the text takes the form of a biographical sketch of Lord Justice Richards who is described in the opening paragraph as ‘One of the most senior judges in the country...’. The biography provides details of his legal career at the Bar and on the Bench. Particular attention is given to his role as judge in a high-profile Court of Appeal case relating to a decision not to prosecute the police officers who killed Jean Charles de Menezes in 2005 during police operations set up in response to the bombing of trains on the London Underground. Details of his educational background are included. The biographical sketch sandwiches his professional life between more intimate aspects of his life, his marital status and family details, ‘...married with three children..’ and his leisure pursuits, ‘walking and relaxing in the Welsh hills’.

The layout of the story, the juxtaposition of picture, headline, subtitle and text all orientate the story’s movement from that of a mundane story about one man’s arrest and release on bail into a news report dominated by biographical detail with a strong institutional focus. The judicial portrait that fills the whole length of the first column, playing on aesthetic conventions that emphasise the judge’s institutional attributes, provides a visual preface setting the tone and focus of the article. This is reinforced by the title ‘Top judge...’ and is

²² He was subsequently tried and found not guilty. The trial was extensively reported in the press.

given a particular 'twist' with the subtitle's playful use of the phrase 'Treasury devil'; 'Lord Justice Richards was for five years the Treasury devil'.

Again Chibnall's work on 'news values' helps us to understand the role this judicial image plays in the telling and selling of news stories with a judicial subject. The release on bail is the event, the 'what just happened', the 'new', that is an essential but not sufficient 'fact' of this news story. The release (and previous arrest) also provides the drama, the 'action' that seeks to grab the attention of prospective audiences and excite consumption of news. The picture gives the 'action' a strong element of theatricality and gives the event the gloss of being an exotic spectacle, unlikely though it is that either the arrest or release occurred with the judge dressed in full ceremonial robes.

The combination of symbolic assemblage depicted in the image, and the textual references to 'Lord Justice' and 'Treasury devil' represents and mobilises another news value, 'titillation'. The story has a strong interest in emphasising the 'illicit', the salacious and the voyeuristic potential of the story in order to enable and feed an audience's sense of its own self-righteousness, indignation and moral rectitude. The picture depicts and encapsulates the image of respectability. At the same time it depicts it as an elite secret and mysterious world. The biography spins this into a narrative, reporting key moments in the life story of a 'Top judge'.

If the sources cited in the story (a spokesman of the British Transport Police that arrested, questioned and released him; the Judicial Communications

Office that 'confirmed' the event and explained its consequences in terms of impact on the judge's work; *Who's who*, the attributed source of his leisure pursuits; and last but by no means least the judge himself who 'spoke to reporters' from the yellow press sister paper of the *Times*, *The News of the World*) all confirm the veracity of the news report, the picture also has a distinctive role to play in this context. The photographic image carries with it assumptions of the objective truth of what it represents. In this instance the heavily edited photograph portrays its subject bedecked with archaic symbols of legitimate judicial authority, of institutional respectability.²³ It is in that context that the picture works to generate the truth of the exotic and scandalous associations and the rightness of moral indignation potentially experienced by the audience.

Conclusions

The size of the sample of images used in this study inevitably mean that any conclusions must be cautiously drawn and preliminary. They provide evidence of the existence of visual images of this 'difficult subject' and some evidence of their variety. The variety of format, landscape and portrait, draws attention to their variety of function: one emphasising narrative, the other identification and character. The two portraits also emphasise the importance of symbols in the representation of the judiciary and of role of photography as a means of representing symbols. Here photography is used to represent and

²³ The robes depicted in the picture are those worn by Stephen Richards when he was a judge of the High Court. The arrest and release took place when he was a judge of the Court of Appeal. The ceremonial robes of that court are black with gold details. UPPA have formal portraits of Mr Richards dating from his elevation to that court in 2005.

communicate abstract ideas about the nature of judicial authority. The analysis of the sketch of a judge in court suggests that the depiction of a judge does not necessarily put the judge at the heart of the news story being depicted. As three very different stories about three different 'events' in the criminal justice system (arrest and bail, giving evidence, and the sentencing decision), they suggest that studies of judicial image making in the media confined to the event of sentencing will fail to capture a more complex landscape of judicial image making and a more diverse array of challenges relating to image management.

All three images actually fail in a number of ways to depict the judicial institution they purport to represent. The distorted perspective of the sketch reorganises the space of the court and the location of the judge within it. The picture of Judge Goldstone shows him as a Queen's Counsel not as the judge it purports to represent. The picture of Lord Justice Richards shows him as a High Court, not Court of Appeal judge. Yet inclusion of these images in the stories suggests they are effective depictions, at least for the journalists, newspaper editors and picture editors who produced the stories, and probably for at least some of the wider public that read them.

The criminal justice focus of my examples means that this paper does not examine judicial image making and problems of image management in large areas of the justice system: civil and administrative justice, immigration, family disputes, the work of the appeal courts, and judicial appointments are

neglected.²⁴ More research is needed to include these. More research is needed to enable the stories that use images to be put into the wider context of all stories that relate to the media image of the judiciary. How often are images used? What differentiates those stories that use images from those that do not? There is also a need for more empirical research to examine how audiences read both the paper and screen versions of news reports. Certainly this paper suggests there are significant graphic differences between these two formats. Does this affect their meaning-making capacity? Research is also needed to understand better the making and use of these images in the news. If this study offers some insights into the visual representation of the judiciary in mass media it raises many more questions than answers.

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²⁴ Hazel Genn's work on civil justice makes some reference to judicial image politics in that context. See Genn 1999 and 2009.

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